

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 286013

FOLLOWING REPEAT PRETORIA 6408 ACTION LUSAKA
INFO SECSTATE BONN LONDON OTTAWA PARIS USUN 28 NOV 77

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 6408

LUSAKA FOR AMBASSADOR MC HENRY AND PETTERSON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, US, WA

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA: PRETORIA FIVE MEETING FOR
PREPARATION OF TALKS

REF: MAPUTO 1411

1. PRETORIA FIVE MET THIS MORNING, NOV 28, TO DISCUSS
SCHEDULING FOR NEXT ROUND OF TALKS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR
PRESENTATION OF PACKAGE BY THE FIVE TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

2. WITH REGARD TO SCHEDULING, WE SUGGEST THE FOLLOWING:
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 1
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1130 ARRIVAL OF NEW YORK FIVE AT WATERKLOOF AIR
BASE WITH MEMBERS TO BE PICKED UP BY THEIR
RESPECTIVE EMBASSIES AND TAKEN TO PLACE OF LODGING.
1600 WORKING MEETING AT US EMBASSY RESIDENCE.
1930 WORKING DINNER AT THE US EMBASSY RESIDENCE WITH
CONTINUATION OF WORKING MEETING AS NECESSARY.
(WE CONSIDERED ADVISABILITY OF TRYING TO ARRANGE AN

INFORMAL MEETING WITH FOURIE AND BOTHA DURING FIRST EVENING BUT RECOMMEND AGAINST IT BECAUSE: (A) SOUTH AFRICANS WILL STILL BE IN EUPHORIC POST-ELECTION MOOD WITH POLITICAL LEADERS, INCLUDING BOTHA, INVOLVED IN ANALYZING ELECTION RESULTS; AND (B) NEED FOR NEW YORK FIVE TO HAVE THOROUGH REVIEW WITH PRETORIA FIVE ON HOW BEST TO PRESENT PACKAGE TO SOUTH AFRICANS IN THE LIGHT OF THE TALKS WITH SWAPO AND ANGOLANS.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 2

0900 INFORMAL MEETING AT FRENCH EMBASSY RESIDENCE OF A SELECTED GROUP OF THE FIVE WITH FOURIE AND BOTHA.

1100 MEETING OF NEW YORK AND PRETORIA FIVES TO MAKE LAST-MINUTE ADJUSTMENTS IN PRESENTATION TO BE MADE AT AFTERNOON'S SESSION, AT WHICH PRIME MINISTER WOULD PROBABLY BE PRESENT.

1500 FIRST FORMAL MEETING BETWEEN CONTACT GROUP AND SOUTH AFRICANS. AT THIS MEETING A DECISION WOULD BE TAKEN JOINTLY ON SUBSEQUENT WORKING SESSIONS FRIDAY NIGHT AND SATURDAY.

1930 WORKING BUFFET-DINNER FOR THE FIVE DELEGATIONS AT THE CANADIAN EMBASSY RESIDENCE.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3

1930 BUFFET-DINNER AT THE FRENCH EMBASSY RESIDENCE WITH SOM SOUTH AFRICANS POSSIBLY PRESENT.

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3. WE FIND IT DIFFICULT TO BE VERY PRECISE ABOUT HOW TO PRESENT THE PACKAGE TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS WITHOUT KNOWING THE RESULTS OF THE NEW YORK FIVE'S TALKS WITH SWAPO AND ANGOLANS. OBVIOUSLY RESULTS OF THESE TWO TALKS WILL HAVE A VERY STRONG BEARING ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN ATTITUDE AND THE WAY IN WHICH WE CAN PRESENT THE PRINCIPAL ISSUES. WE WILL BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO ADVISE ON THIS ONCE CONTACT GROUP GETS HERE ON THURSDAY.

4. IN THE MEANTIME, WE WOULD LIKE TO HIGHLIGHT WHAT WE THINK ARE THE ISSUES UPPERMOST IN THE SOUTH AFRICANS' MIND AND RECOMMEND THAT NEW YORK FIVE IN DRAFTING ITS TALKING POINTS TRY TO ANTICIPATE THESE ISSUES AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE. IN THIS WAY WE MAY BE ABLE TO AVOID AN EMOTIONAL REACTION ON THE PART OF PIK BOTHA. THE ISSUES WE WILL HAVE TO FACE ARE:

(A) WHAT FIRM CONCESSIONS HAVE BEEN OBTAINED FROM SWAPO, PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT TO SWAPO'S WILLINGNESS TO ALLOW A 1,500-MAN CONTINGENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS TO REMAIN IN NAMIBIA.

(B) IN THE LIGHT OF THE TALKS WITH THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS AND SWAPO, WHAT CONCRETELY IS THE PACKAGE ON

WHICH THE CONTACT GROUP IS PREPARED TO STAND.

(C) THE EXTENT TO WHICH THE CONTACT GROUP IS PREPARED TO ADHERE TO THIS PACKAGE IF THE SOUTH AFRICANS ACCEPT IT. THIS WOULD INCLUDE OUR PUBLIC POSTURE IN THE LIGHT OF SOUTH AFRICAN ACCEPTANCE OF THE PACKAGE AND A SWAPO REFUSAL OF TEMPORIZING.

(D) IF THE CONTACT GROUP IS SUCCESSFUL IN LAUNDA IN OBTAINING A COMMITMENT OR AN INDICATION OF WILLINGNESS TO COOPERATE (1) IN ALLOWING UN OBSERVERS TO COME INTO SOUTHERN ANGOLA, AND (2) IN WITHDRAWING OF CUBAN FORCES FROM THE BORDER IN EXCHANGE FOR A SOUTH AFRICAN COMMITMENT TO WITHDRAW ITS FORCES FROM THE BORDER AREA AS WELL. THIS SHOULD OBVIOUSLY FIGURE PROMINENTLY EARLY IN THE PRESENTATION OF THE PACKAGE.
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(E) WE UNDERSTAND FROM MIDDLE-LEVEL CONVERSATIONS WITH DFA THAT SOUTH AFRICANS ARE PREPARING TO DO BATTLE ON RELEASE OF SWAPO PRISONERS BEING HELD IN ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA AND ON ENABLING REPRESENTATIVES FROM NAMIBIA TO TRAVEL TO THESE COUNTRIES TO SPEAK WITH PERSONS IN DETENTION. CONTACT GROUP SHOULD BE PREPARED TO OFFER ARRANGEMENTS FOR MEETING THIS REQUIREMENT. WE SHOULD HAVE THE MOST PRECISE AND UP-TO-DATE INFORMATION AVAILABLE ON THESE DETAINEES WITH WHICH TO COUNTER THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESENTATION. HOPEFULLY WE SHOULD BE IN A POSITION TO OUTLINE THE STEPS WHICH WE ARE PREPARED TO TAKE TO OBTAIN THEIR RELEASE. IF ZAMBIANS AND TANZANIANS ARE UNWILLING TO ACCEPT A NAMIBIAN DELEGATION, WE SHOULD BE THINKING IN TERMS OF ALTERNATIVES. ONE SUCH ALTERNATIVE MIGHT BE TO USE THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS FOR THIS PURPOSE. OTHER FALL-BACK POSSIBILITIES MIGHT BE FOR (A) THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE TO UNDERTAKE THIS TASK, OR (B) THE FIVE TO ASSUME RESPONSIBILITY.

5. REQUEST COPIES OF THIS MESSAGE BE GIVEN OTHER CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS. WOULD APPRECIATE CONTACT GROUP COMMENTS ON PROPOSED PROGRAM.

BOWLER.

UNQUOTE VANCE".

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